

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 IO-13 /079 W

-----161507Z 060616 /43

R 161412Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7108

INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

AMEMBASSY GABERONE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY MAPUTO

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 PRETORIA 1262

CAPE TOWN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, PINS, PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: TALK BY MUZOREWA FACTION SECRETARY

1. SUMMARY: DR. CHAVUNDUKA, SECRETARY FOR UANC, STATES THAT UANC IS TO ANNOUNCE REFERENDUM WITHIN TWO-THREE WEEKS. WITH SUPPORT OF SMITH GOVERNMENT, REFERENDUM WILL DICTATE PARTIES TO TAKE PART IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT. HE ALSO OUTLINED ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROPOSALS OF FUTURE UANC GOVERNMENT, EMPHASIZING THEIR NON-MARXIST ORIENTATION AND THEIR DESIRE TO ASSURE THE WHITE RHODESIANS AND PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE STATES THAT MUZOREWA HAS BEEN IN TOUCH WITH BRITAIN AND AMERICA AND ANTICIPATES THEIR SUPPORT FOR UANC APPROACH. END SUMMARY.

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2. NIGHT OF MARCH 15, EMBOFF ATTENDED CLOSED S.A. INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS MEETING IN JOHANNESBURG WHERE DR. GORDON CHAVUNDUKA, SECRETARY OF UNITED AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL (UANC), FACTION LED BY BISHOP MUZOREWA, GAVE AN ADDRESS. IN WELL-REASONED PRESENTATION THAT DREW CONSIDERABLE INTEREST AND SOME HOSTILE QUESTIONS FROM CROWD, CHAVUNDUKA SET FORTH UANC POSITION IN SOMEWHAT PREDICTABLE VEIN. HE

STATED MAJORITY RULE WAS NOW ACCEPTED BUT BECAUSE OF WHITE UNWILLINGNESS OR INABILITY TO PROMPT CHANGES AND POLITICAL MANEUVERING ON NATIONALISTS SIDE, PROGRESS HAD STALLED. PEOPLE, BLACK AND WHITE, ARE READY FOR MAJORITY RULE AND WANT PEACE. PRESENT UNCERTAINTY CAN ONLY LEAD TO FURTHER DETERIORATION OF COUNTRY. UANC IS IN STRONGEST INTERNAL POSITION TO LEAD MOVEMENT TO MAJORITY RULE WITH "80-90 PERCENT" SUPPORT OF BLACKS AND GROWING WHITE MEMBERSHIP AND SUPPORT.

3. CHAVUNDUKA WENT ON TO OUTLINE UANC PROPOSALS ON REFERENDUM FOR INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IN BRIEF, HE STATED REFERENDUM WAS TO BE ANNOUNCED WITHIN TWO-THREE WEEKS. IT IS UANC INITIATIVE BECAUSE PEOPLE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT "GOVERNMENT BY NOMINATION." MECHANICS OF REFERENDUM WILL BE PATTERNED ON PAST ONES HELD IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA. RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS WERE WORKING WITH UANC IN SETTING UP REFERENDUM, HE SAID, AND ALL LEADERS WOULD BE ASKED AND ALLOWED TO RETURN TO TAKE PART IN REFERENDUM. REFERENDUM IS "FAIR TEST" AND WOULD DRAW INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT. PARTIES WOULD PLAY ROLE IN INTERIM GOVERNMENT BASED ONLY ON SUPPORT SHOWN DURING REFERENDUM. HE WAS EMPHATIC THAT UANC WOULD NOT ENGAGE IN FURTHER "GENEVAS" WITHOUT REFERENDUM. ONLY AFTER VOTING WOULD THEY SIT DOWN TO SORT OUT DETAILS OF INTERIM GOVERNMENT. IN PRIVATE QUESTIONING AFTERWARDS, CHAVUNDUKA STATED THAT REFERENDUM WOULD BE INITIATED AND ADMINISTERED BY AFRICANS, ALBEIT WITH SOME TECHNICAL HELP FROM GOVERNMENT. SMITH RECOGNIZES THAT HIS INVOLVEMENT WOULD BE KISS OF DEATH INTERNATIONALLY AND HAS AGREED TO "STAY OUT".

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4. CHAVANDUKA SPOKE AT LENGTH ON UANC PROPOSALS FOR FUTURE TO ENSURE PEACEFUL AND PRODUCTIVE TRANSITION TO MAORITY RULE. HE POINTED OUT RIGHT OF WHITE RHODESIANS TO STAY IN THEIR COUNTRY AND NEED THAT FUTURE GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE TO KEEP THEM. HE SAID A FIRST PRIORITY OF UANC WOULD BE TO STOP THE WAR. HE CLAIMED THAT UANC COULD DO THAT ONCE IT HAD "MORAL VICTORY" OF REFERENDUM BEHIND IT. GUERRILLAS, HE SAID, LARGELY SUPPORTED MUZOREWA. MOST WERE YOUNG AND HAD GOTTEN FIRST POLITICAL EXPOSURE IN RHODESIA FROM UANC. EVEN GUERRILLA FIELD COMMANDERS WERE MOSTLY NON-IDEOLOGICAL AND FIGHTING JUST TO ESTABLISH MAJORITY GOVERNMENT, NOT MARXIST ONE. THEY WOULD ACCEPT MUZOREWA-LED GOVERNMENT AND LAY DOWN ARMS. ALSO, MOST VILLAGERS WHO SUPPORT INSURGENTS ARE UANC PEOPLE. ONCE INTERIM GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHED AND MUZOREWA ANNOUNCES HALT TO WAR, THEY WILL WITHDRAW THEIR SUPPORT OF GUERRILLAS. SECONDLY, UANC WOULD ASSURE THAT RHODESIA WAS COUNTRY WHERE "RHODESIANS OF EVERY COLOR, CREED AND RELIGION CAN FIND EMPLOYMENT AND A BETTER LIFE". LAND TENURE ACT WOULD BE ABOLISHED, BUT TRIBAL LAND STILL PROTECTED. INCOMES WOULD

BE RAISED AND WAGE-EARNING SECTOR EXPANDED. GAP WOULD BE NARROWED BETWEEN URBAN AND RURAL WAGES. LEVELS OF INVESTMENT, PARTIALLY BECAUSE OF NO SANCTIONS, WOULD RISE. NO WHITE-OWNED LAND THAT WAS PRODUCTIVE WOULD BE REAPPORTIONED. FREE ENTERPRISE SYSTEM WOULD BE MAINTAINED AS LONG AS IT DIDN'T GO COUNTER TO GOVERNMENT POLICIES. BUT ALL POLITICAL DECISIONS WOULD BE BASED ON DESIRE TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC GROWTH. HE FELT THAT INSTITUTING OF ONE-PARTY STATES IN OTHER PARTS OF AFRICA WAS PARTIALLY DUE TO DROP IN LIVING STANDARDS AND ECONOMIC GROWTH AFTER INDEPENDENCE. UANC WAS DETERMINED TO AVOID THIS SITUATION.

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. CHAVUNDUKA STATED THAT UANC IS AWARE THAT THERE ARE MANY DANGERS AND MUCH HOSTILITY TO THEIR PROPOSALS. BRITISH AND US SUPPORT ARE "CRUCIAL" TO THE SUCCESS OF THEIR POSITION. HE STATED THAT MUZOREWA HAD BEEN IN CONTACT WITH WESTERN POWERS AND HE INTIMATED THAT THEY WERE ON THE VERGE OF OFFERING THEIR SUPPORT. HE CLAIMED THAT MOST OF AFRICA, ALTHOUGH FRONT LINE STATES NOT INCLUDED, SUPPORTED THEIR PROPOSALS. HE ASKED ONLY THAT WESTERN COUNTRIES NOT OBSTRUCT REFERENDUM AND THEN, AFTER "MORAL VICTORY," THEY WOULD SUPPORT UANC. PATRIOTIC FRONT AND THEIR COMMUNIST BACKERS WOULD BE

FORCED TO ACCEPT FAIT ACCOMPLI, ALTHOUGH HE ADMITTED NEED TO MAINTAIN STRONG SECURITY FORCES, WITH WESTERN AID, TO TURN BACK ANY MILITARY CHALLENGE. "RUSSIANS AND CHINESE DON'T LIKE US," HE ADDED.

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6. WHEN ASKED IF HIS VISIT WAS CONNECTED TO FOREIGN MINISTER OWENS' PENDING VISIT OR IF HE WERE TALKING WITH SAG, CHAVUNDUKA REPLIED NEGATIVELY TO BOTH, BUT STATED, WITH A SMILE, THAT "WE HAVE A FEW FRIENDS AROUND AND I'LL CHAT WITH THEM."

7. CHAVUNDUKA STATED THAT UANC WAS NOT NEGOTIATING WITH SMITH, ALTHOUGH THEY HAD BEEN INVITED TO DO SO. HE ADMITTED THAT IN FUTURE THEY MAY WELL TALK TO HIM BUT "TIME WAS NOT NOW RIGHT." HOWEVER, INFORMATION FLOWS BETWEEN UANC AND GOVERNMENT AND THEY ARE WELL AWARE OF EACH OTHER'S POSITION. IN PRIVATE, CHAVUNDUKA INDICATED THAT LINES TO SMITH MAY BE MORE DIRECT. HE INDICATED GOVERNMENT KNEW AND SUPPORTED--AS MENTIONED ABOVE, WAS ASSISTING--REFERENDUM IDEA. HE ALSO OFFERED OBZERVATION THAT SMITH FELT COUNTRY WAS IN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY CRISIS AND WAS ANXIOUS TO PURSUE THIS NEW TACTIC. HE SAID, HOWEVER, THAT UANC WOULD NOT PUBLICLY SPEAK WITH SMITH UNTIL THEY WERE SURE OF OUTSIDE SUPPORT AND SUCCESS OF REFERENDUM OR IT WOULD BE "DISASTROUS."BOWDLER

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